2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut



tight back and loose skirt; the sleeves are tight at the wrist and enlarge gradually to the shoulders, where they are gathered into folds. To give fullness to the skirt gores are set in at the sides, producing many folds in this ugly garment. The collar of the *son* is always worn flat. The *son* of a poor Yakut is shown in Fig. 28. On a journey the Yakut wears an overcoat (*supun* from the Russian *zypun*) made of white, yellow, or gray cloth over the *son*. Its skirts are even fuller than those of the *son*. In addition, the skirt is slit at the back to facilitate riding. The

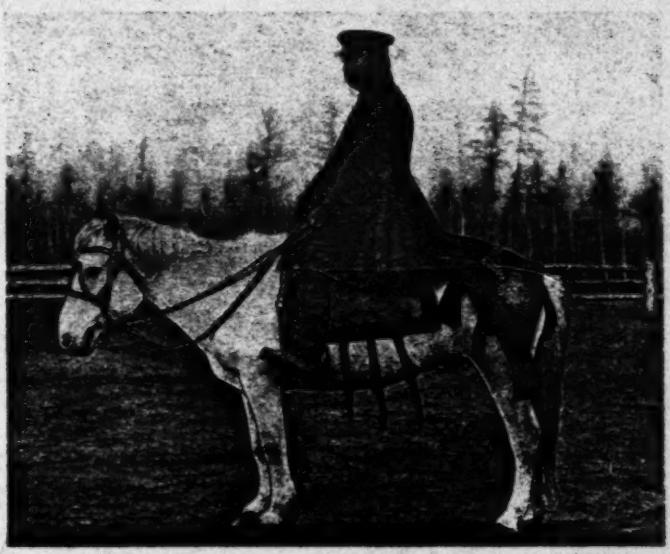

Fig. 34. A Yakut Elder on Horseback, wearing a Russian Cloth Cap with a Peak.

collar and the side borders are usually trimmed with plush or red cloth. In a woman's *supun* the lower border of the skirt is also ornamented.

For traveling the Yakut also use another kind of shirt-like overcoat made of reindeer skins without a slit in front. The Yakut buy this type of garment ready-made from the Chukchee, Tungus, or Yukaghir. Such coats have different names adapted from the Russians, like *parky*, *kuklyanky*, *kukashky* (Russian *parki*, *kuzlanki*, *kukashki*).

*Sanayax* or *sañyyax* (fur outside) is a long fur overcoat which reaches the ground. It is made of different kinds of fur. In Fig. 31 a lynx coat is shown. The borders of the skirt and sleeves are trimmed with land otter fur. The collar is also of land otter. The lynx has been

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut



The Yakut prefer it[1] to the imported
Russian iron and call it *sakha-timir* (Yakut iron) as opposed to *nucha timir* (Russian iron). The Yakut iron ore yields 10 per cent iron, the Yakut are unable to handle the process in order to obtain a desirable sort of iron or to make steel. The imported steel, however, is too expensive for the Yakut. It is very easy to distinguish between the flexible Yakut knives and the hard Russian iron ware. 325 439

*The Yakut Blacksmith.* The double bellows (*küört*) of the majority of East Siberian tribes is used by the Yakut blacksmiths. This type of bellows was found not only among the Turkic-Mongol tribes of central and western Asia, but also in Eastern Africa. The Yakut double bellows belongs to the type called *Schlauchblasebälge* (leather-bag-bellows) by German ethnologists. These leather-bag-bellows, in their turn, are known in two forms, one of which is represented by the Yakut double bellows which are distinguished by openings in the form of short slits in the tops of the leather bags. The tubes from the bags run to the furnace where they are united and have a single outlet. Pairs of small sticks are sewed along the edges of the slits. When these sticks are brought together with the hand the bag is hermetically sealed. The blacksmith's assistant, sitting on the floor between the leather bags, alternately raises and opens one of the bags with his fingers, simultaneously closing and lowering the other bag. In this way a continuous draft is maintained.[1] The Yakut blacksmith sits on a low seat at the furnace, his anvil (*kystyk*), tongs (*kytahas*), hammer (*ötuye*), and a file (*igi*), on the ground beside him. All these objects resemble the paraphernalia of the eighteenth century Mongolian smithy illustrated in Pallas' work.[2] The Yakut, like the Gypsy smith, has remained to a considerable degree an itinerant artisan. Usually he carries his tools and bellows to the place where the work is to be done. In Fig. 54 is illustrated a Yakut blacksmith who has established himself under the roof of a sledge shed belonging to a rich Yakut patron. 171 326 413

In many respects the technique of the smith has remained primitive. One of the disadvantages of the trade is the necessity of having an assistant for the bellows. The draft of the bellows is usually too strong for small objects which burn and too weak for large objects. Sometimes two 326 413

[1] For a discussion and detailed description of different types of bellows see the following: Andrée, R., *Die Metalle bei den Naturvölkern mit Berücksichtigung Prähistorischer Verhältnisse.* Leipsig, 1884; Beck, L., *Die Geschichte des Eisens.* Berlin, 1870–1871; Foy, W., Zur Geschichte der Eisentechnik und besonders des Gebläses (*Ethnologica, Im Auftrage des Vereins zur Förderung des städtischen Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum für Völkerkunde in Köln*, vol. 1, pp. 185–222, Leipsig, 1900); von Luschan, Felix, Eisentechnik in Afrika (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 41, pp. 22–50, Berlin, 1909). Doctor Foy combats the contention of Professor Von Luschan that Africa is the place of origin of iron smelting and the blacksmith's art.

[2] Pallas, P. S., *Sammlungen der historischen Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften.* 1787. Part 1, Pl. 3.

1 [i.e., pig iron mined in Yakutsk --ANALYST]

6: Sauer--53 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 439

"On the 13th we arrived at three inhabited Russian isba's [RCH: Russian houses] on the river Uyandina, near its discharge into the Indigirka, about the latitude 67°45′, and longitude 148°35′. These people carry on a trifling trade with the wandering Tungoose, and the Yakuti, that go in quest of mammont's husks, giving in return dried fish, and flour, with some articles of dress and ornament."

10: Bush--161 [2] T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 157, 439, 492

"The Yakouts are a very quiet, inoffensive people, industrious, ingenious, and gifted with a natural business tact. They might, with propriety, be called the Yankees of Siberia. It is not uncommon to meet them in the most isolated regions with long trains of deer laden with trinkets of all kinds, which they peddle out to the nomadic tribes in exchange for pelts."

Il: Lansdell --304 [2] M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 287, 439

"Some products of Yakutsk industry are purchased by the Russians, particularly floor-cloths of white and coloured felts, which are cut in strips and sewed together like mosaic"

11: Lansdell--304 [3] M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 326, 439

"From the earliest times they have been able to procure and work for themselves metals*

* The iron ore of the Vilui was smelted by the Yakutes long before the advent of the Russians, and the other tribes got from them iron axes, awls, and tools for stripping and dressing hides. The Yakutes also make copper ornaments for clothes and harness, and the metal plates which they sew on their girdles. Even now, although they use European guns, they still make for themselves the great knife, or dagger, which is worn at the waist. The Yakutsk steel is more flexible than the Russian, and yet blades made of it will cut copper or pewter as easily as European blades."

16: Great Britain Admiralty -- 165- 166 G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 237, 439, 532

"They carve figures of human beings which they fashion out of mammoth-tusks; but these are rigid and lifeless, with only an outward resemblance to what they represent, and much inferior to those of the Koryaks. Even these [166] specimens of their plastic art are rare and merely made for commercial purposes, to sell to the Russians. They take no pleasure in them themselves."

17: Erman--300 [2] N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 171, 325, 439, 294

"Some productions of Yakutian industry are purchased by the Russians, and sent into Europe, particularly floor-cloths of white and coloured felts, which are cut into narrow pieces, and them tastefully and symmetrically sewed together, like mosaic. It is a still weightier circumstance that these people have been able, from the earliest times, to procure themselves certain metals, and have known how to work them. The iron ore of Vilui is smelted and wrought in the yurts at that place, just in the same manner as at Tashkent, or as among the Buraet s and the Tatars of Kusnetsk."

39; Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut



dress and dress-ornamentation of the Tartaric peoples, the dualistic religious ideas, and the poetical folk-lore, of Western Asia.

In their old country they were principally horse-breeders. The horses were employed both as beasts of burden and as animals for riding; their skins were used for clothing; their flesh, for food; and kumiss, the fermented drink prepared from mare's milk, served not only as a stimulating beverage, but also as a most important nutritious food.[1] For a time after their arrival in their new abode, the horse was still their principal domestic animal, and kumiss their essential food; but gradually the climatic conditions of the country on the one hand, and contact with Russian culture on the other, have exerted a modifying influence, which is still operative, over both the mental and the material culture of the Yakut. A small part of the tribe in the extreme north of the Yakut province must have experienced a decadence of their former material life. This minority became reindeer-breeders, dog-breeders, or hunters, and fish-eaters. But even into these new lines of life the Yakut introduced more advanced methods.

The tribe as a whole, while engaged in horse and cattle breeding as their chief occupation, began to increase the number of their horned cattle at the expense of their number of horses. Of cow's milk they could make, for use during the long winter, butter, a kind of cheese, and some other milk products which cannot, as we shall see later, be made from mare's milk. The Russian gold-mining companies on the rivers Olekma and Vitim proved profitable buyers of these cattle, and this gave an impetus to the raising of them. Finally, the cultivation of cereal plants, borrowed from the Russians in the southern parts of the Yakut Province, where the climate allows of it, has made such progress in the last twenty years, that at present agriculture is the chief occupation, and bread the staple food, of many Yakut families of the District of Yakutsk, and particularly of that of Olekminsk. Nowadays large droves of horses, and

[1] Some travellers consider that the Yakut horse belongs to the present race of horses of the steppes of southwestern Siberia; but it is difficult to say whether the Yakut horse of to-day has any connection with the extinct horse, the fossil remains of which have been found in the polar regions of northeastern Siberia.

49: Findeisen -- 10 [2] E-1 (no date) 1930 Yakut
116 435, 439, 543, 609

Shimkevich calls the Yakuts real parasites of the Tunguses. In his German travel account, he says: "Twice a year, on Easter and Christmas, they hold markets in the forests, where the Tunguses will find everything they need: reindeer, powder, shotguns, clothes, sugar, butter. They usually become indebted to the Yakuts and cannot get rid of them any more. The Yakuts follow them and sell their goods at a terribly high price. In Middendorg's time, i. e. in 1844, there were 26 traveling Yakut merchants; today there are more than 60 of them. In such a market which was held in the vicinity of the gold washing plants of the Niman company, 20 merchants bought furs from 100 native families which were present; the furs had a value of 124,000 marks, but the natives were sold goods worth 80,000 marks instead. But the Tunguses had still a debt of about 160,000 to the tradesmen. The goods included 3000 sable-furs worth 36 marks each, 1300 musk-rat, squirrel, fox and bear furs, etc. The Tunguses bought 1086 reindeer, including 684 beasts of burden at a price of 80 to 120 marks, and 250 to 300 saddle-reindeer worth 200 to 240 marks each. 24,000 pounds of cow's butter which the Yakuts had bought along on their reindeer were sold at one mark a pound, 400 pounds of other fat at 80 pfennigs, and various other goods at 4000 marks."

In another place, he says: The market held annually near the Niman gold washing plants has replaced all others previously held. The natives then come together from all sides and from far places, and the Yakut merchants make good business. The Yakuts are not only good merchants, they are good hunters, too.

T /4 cont./

175 by the Tungus lying in wait for them, and the light went out for
648 one or another of them if he strayed too far from the band."
721 In another place it is likewise said about the ancestors of our now
T quite harmless Tungus friends: "These (the Tungus on the
[181] Tschája /Chaya/) told him much about those Tungus living on the Nishna-Tunguska, that they were a wild and stouthearted people, that they had sometimes picked a quarrel with a hundred Russians and beat them."

Y In the year 1620, through the Tungus, the Cossacks received
648 the first report about the Wiljúi /Vilyui/, its nearness to the
175 Tunguska, and about the Jakuten /Yakut/ on the lower Lena. They considered this news so important that they reported it to Tobólsk, at that time the capital of Siberia, and to Moscow. Instructions seem to have failed to appear for a long time, for it was not until the year 1630 that Martin Wassíljew /Vasilyev/ was sent out to the Jakuten with 30 men; then, navigating down the Wiljúi, he fulfilled his mission and took from the Jakuten the first tribute (jassák /yassak/), probably more for his gain than for that of the crown, for although, personally sent to Moscow, he had boasted there after his return "to bring the whole Jakut nation under his heel, provided that for this purpose he were given 40 additional men for reinforcement," and although this reinforcement was granted, Wassiljew was dismissed immediately afterwards, and a Circassian, Stepán Korýtow, was named as head of the expedition, which was undertaken in the year 1632.

T In the meantime, however, the Jenisseisk Cossacks, who had
[648] gradually gone up the Upper Tunguska (Angará) and the Ilím, but
[721] not without battles with the Tungus and Burjäten /Buryat/, had reached the upper Lena /5/ and navigated down to the mouth of
Y the Kírenga, near the present Kirensk. They, too, heard about
648 the Jakuten and their wealth in livestock, and, as Fischer says
● 439 of one of their leaders: "That succulent tidbit made his mouth
175 water." But it was not until the year 1632 that the sotnik Peter Bekétow went down the Lena and, with a handful of Cossacks, established a small fort 15 versts below the present Jakutsk /Yakutsk/. That the tidbit was indeed succulent is clear from Fischer's words: "How profitable the trade must have been in this early period may be gathered from the fact, among others, that the Jakuten paid for the copper kettles, which they preferred over other Russian wares, with as many sables as could be put in

each Kettle.

T /126 cont./
122 from the bank. From our camp, which was pitched in the
Y vicinity, we sent Ssemjón to reconnoiter, and he came back in
● [437] the night with two Tungus, who, like the old Jakute, were known to him from before. "I rarely see them," he said laconically. In view of the way of life on both sides that is probably very understandable. Soon it appeared that they had previously had a business connection with regard to a mammoth tusk and, it appeared, not to Ssemjón's advantage. They did not make a good impression in general, and, after buying a reindeer calf, we parted from them as quickly as possible. The people were from Lake Dshesse, but belonged to the Syrungna Tungus.

Y 122 123 On August 11 when we stopped at midday Ssemjón said that we were no longer very far from the Ssiligír, below the mouth of which, on the small river Ssénjka emptying into the Olenék from the left side, Jakuten /Yakut/ were said to be settled. We had at first intended to go directly down to this river, but now learned that the settlement was three days of travel from the Ssénjka mouth, although from here, because of the previously mentioned great bends of the Olenék, was not very far, which was also confirmed by the fact that we found a well-filled storage chamber. So it was decided that Ssemjón was to hurry there and fetch the people, while we went on to the vicinity of the Ssiligír mouth. It proved to be /127/ not very near, however, for we could not reach it until sunset and therefore had to stop above it.

Y [554] [291] [437] The next morning Ssemjón appeared in the company of a Jakuten /Yakut/, Nikolai Boldonó, whose appearance, though certainly not magnificent, showed that he was to be counted as one of the wealthier ones. Namely, he had on a cotton shirt and a flowered scarf around his neck, whereas all the other Tungus and Jakuten whom we had seen so far along the Olenék, even the earlier Nikolai, were dressed in leather and skins throughout, a sign that they seldom or never have an opportunity to come in contact with traders or cannot afford their prices. Later we learned that the imported dabá (a cotton material usually dyed dark blue) is not too expensive, comparatively

/183 cont./

226 on it was presented to us, caught both by our men and by the natives. Perhaps it is the fish found in the lakes of the Jenisseí /Yenisei/ tundra and called mutschugór there (actually, we once heard it called that on the Olenék), which the academician Schmidt mentions from hearsay and which is very highly prized there. It has pale pink, almost white flesh, is very fat, and is barely two feet long. Along the Lena the Russians call it tschir, but it is hardly identical with the Jenessei fish of this name.

● [439] Fish do not represent a trade article here, but are caught by the natives only for their needs. Fishing is said to have been
262 not particularly productive this year, but no shortage was to be seen. Our two Tungus, with the abundant fat fish set before them in every possible form, even forgot their native crucian, for which they had longed during the whole trip, and even the unheard-of happened when old Golé refused an evening meal because he could not eat any more. Raw fish in particular, frozen hard, cut in chips, and taken without any condiments, usually even without salt, is a favorite dish, which, incidentally, in Irkutsk, where it is known by the name struganína, has its devoted admirers even in higher society. I myself could not acquire a taste for it.

136 Apart from fish, however, the coast here is very unproductive. No one was able to tell us anything at all about larger sea animals. /184/ A seal was supposed to have been killed some time ago as a rarity. Polar bears do not seem to be common either and are not hunted by the natives, who rather have a great respect for
223 them. In summer there is a surplus of water birds, which are captured in great numbers, especially during the molting season. We were also told of such, about the size of a small goose, that come, not from the south, but from the north, from the sea. Since something similar is reported by almost all the travelers who have visited the Siberian shores of the Arctic Ocean, the fact
224 cannot be doubted. Wild reindeer are present in abundance -- we saw a large herd on our trip through the tundra -- and are killed in various ways, but especially with springtraps. Many hares are found in the immediate vicinity of the ocean. The arctic fox, however, constitutes the real wealth of the natives here. It is very common on the tundra and is predominantly

/195 cont./

122 man who had just returned from the Arctic Ocean. Most of the visitors appeared with gifts, of which, however, we accepted only just what we needed, for /196/ appropriate compensation, of course. One of the visitors brought a reindeer and received for it generous payment in cash, which he apparently had not counted on, for he became very embarrassed and finally explained that in this case he wished to exchange the animal given for a larger and fatter one, which, of course we could not oppose.

On the day after our arrival the clergyman from Bulún, Nikolai Ssljepzów, also visited us, and we spent a very pleasant evening with him. He told us a great deal about his travel adventures on the tundra, which he frequently had to cross. The dangers for the intrepid traveler are great -- not the least is the danger of getting lost. Once, just when his traveling companion had gone off, the clergyman was suddenly thrown out of the narte by the dogs, suddenly excited at the sight of a wolf, and he was saved only by the intelligence of the lead-dog who forced the rest of the team to circle the place of the accident closer and closer until he had again found his master and brought the dogs to a standstill near him. He would have been hopelessly lost, without any food, without a compass, hundreds of versts from any settlement. Our guest was also able to give some much desired information about the natural products of the parts of the country traversed by him, and Czekanowsky was particularly pleased by the accounts concerning several sources of petrifactions along the [136] Lena and the shore of the Arctic Ocean; the clergyman even claimed to have frequently seen ammonites, which we could show him in illustrations. Encouraged by us, he promised henceforth to collect natural products himself, as much as he could, for which we gave him a short course of instruction and asked him to send his eventual collection to the Siberian Section of /197/ the Imperial Geographical Society in Irkutsk. On the next day he sent us a young shark which he himself had caught near Bulún, that is, in the river.

632 Bulún, as I have said several times, is at present the capital
[103] of an entire district, or, as one says here, ulússes /ulus/, which, however, is still named after the former capital Shigánsk /Zhigansk/.
[226] On the maps the latter is even designated as a town, but it is now
• [439] practically abandoned. Bulún, which lies only about 120 versts

/197 cont./

632 from the Arctic Ocean, owes its present importance less to the rich
[226] fishing, which could be made useful for the more southerly regions
● [439] only by the establishment of a steamship company like the one
on the Jenissei /Yenisei/, and more to the trade in arctic foxes
and in particular in mammoth tusks, which are collected here
from the entire region and then taken to the European market by
[136] way of Jakutsk /Yakutsk/ and Irkutsk. Fossil ivory is found
throughout northern Siberia, although the richest sources are supposed to be the New Siberian Islands in the Arctic Ocean, but the trip there across the frozen ocean involves great difficulties and dangers, and we were even told that the government had prohibited trading trips there after a party of ivory-seekers perished on one.

161 According to the more detailed reports gathered by
131 Czekanowsky on his second stay in Bulún, the population of the entire ulússes consists of 2,293 souls, 770 of whom are counted on the stretches of the Lena lying within the forest region, 30 in the forest region along the Olenék, while about 550 live on the timber line itself between the Lena and Anábara, and /198/ over 900 live on the tundra, and, in particular, on the islands at the
131 mouth of the Lena and the Olenék. These people, consisting of
177 Jakuten /Yakut/, or rather Jakutized Tungus, are cut off on all sides from intercourse with other human beings by broad, barren stretches scarcely traversed by a hunter, certainly to their advantage -- I have spoken above, in the description of our sojourn in Boljkalák, of the inhabitants' purity of morals -- may it be preserved here a very long time and may more active intercourse and the cultural advance connected with it exert only a whole-
426 some influence on these upright primitive people. Up to now --
273 at least so we were assured -- the natives strictly guard against running into debt with the merchants, and liquor, this plague advancing in the train of civilization and so corrupting for all primitive peoples, seems to be relatively not very widespread
273 here. I must mention here that the government does not permit, or at least permits only under great limitations, the sale of spirits to the native tribes of Siberia, as well as to the workers at the gold washings, but, in view of the immense tracts of land to be

/207 cont./

136 but since then have completely disappeared. They are therefore also retreating southward here just as along the Nishnaja /Nizhnyaya/ Tunguska. The wild sheep (tschubukún) found farther south in the Werchojansk Range had been heard of, but they are not found here even in the rockier parts of the tundra, although there, as well as here, marmots (tarbagán) are very common.

226 Our host also engaged in fishing with great success at the
●439 mouth of the Omoloí, the yield of which -- mukssún, o'mul, tschir, and nélima -- except for what he uses himself, he for the most part exchanges for furs in Ustjjansk /Ust-Yansk/.

122 On the next day we continued our journey almost due south
13 and passed a very populous balagan, which was named for us as Iggitauýt, as well as several tributaries of the Great Omoloí, which lies to the east of the Little Omoloí which we had already crossed. We were told that the region abounded in swamps and lakes that were full of fish; the forest, although somewhat taller than that of the previous day, was still very poor in comparison with that found at the same latitude along the Olenék, alternating with great tundra-like plains. In general, it seems as though in the far north the /208/ extensive plains are not favorable for forest growth and that it remains relatively vigorous only in the more uneven terrain even up to very high latitudes. In the afternoon we reached the stan Dshüssál on the lake of the same name, where I decided to make some astronomical observations because of the exceptionally mild temperature of barely -20° R., according to which we were at 60° 38' latitude.

On our further travels the next morning we were surprised after a short trip along the shore of the Omoloí in the vicinity of the settlement Ojóma by a little grove of poplars (Populus suaveolens Fisch.). This poplar, according to the natives, reaches its northern boundary here, but has such small trunks that they are unfit for working. On the day before we had noticed many
133 willow thickets in all the river valleys that we crossed. From
122 Ojóma on a broader view of a quite considerable mountain range

/238 cont./

122 After a seven-hour trip -- the distance could at most amount
136 to 45 versts -- we reached the station of Bodogóle, where the inhabitants told us something about the hunting here. Concerning big game here, there is first of all the common mountain sheep
[321] (tschubukún), whose meat is said to be very tasty. The skin is also highly valued and carved work is made out of the horns; /239/ we saw only a few small spoons very simply worked. The elk is found everywhere; on the other hand there are hardly any beasts of prey at all, at least no wolves, which are found only to the north from the mountains to Kŏng-urách, but then are completely absent as far as Jakutsk /Yakutsk/; the glutton, whose pelt is eagerly sought by the Jakuten /Yakut/ for fur caps, is found only very rarely; as for fur-bearing animals, there are many squirrels (also flying and striped ones) and ermine, and, it seems, sable.

122 Below the station of Bodogóle the mountains west of the
[133] route become lower and eminences covered with forest appear. To be sure, on the right bank of the river Antimirdjách one again sees barren peaks, but they soon recede and the range then disappears altogether. Once again on this day, at the end of a very wretched trip, we had to resort to a log house built in exactly the same style as the one of two days before. The local name for these houses is powárnja, i.e., kitchen. Although this powárnja had been built only a few months ago, it was almost of even less use than the earlier one, and again we had to sleep in our traveling clothes. Fortunately it was for the last time, for the day's trip of December 5 brought us to the station of Tánda, which lies on the left bank of the Aldán, and from here on a more densely populated
● 439 region begins. Before we reached Tánda we met the Jakutsk
484 merchant Gawriíl Feofánow Ssolowjów with his entire caravan, who likewise carries on trade with Kolýmsk, although not directly, but rather by way of the settlement Rússkoje Ústje (i.e., Russian river-mouth) on the Indigírka. We were interested to learn from him -- we had stopped at a yurt along the way -- that he had formerly sent regularly organized expeditions to the New Siberian Islands, which had brought back to him rich booty in mammoth tusks. He had /240/ not undertaken any for many years because

439 /240 cont./
484 of the great dangers of the trip, but now he was considering it again, for he rightly assumed that in the course of the years a great deal of fossil ivory must have been washed out there again. He also expressed to us his willingness, in case the Imperial Geographical Society planned a journey of exploration to those islands, to support it whole-heartedly and perhaps even accompany it himself, but in any case he would furnish dogs and guides.

122 After we crossed the Aldán, which has quite low banks here, quite late in the evening because of the stop, we reached the station after two more versts, from which we could not depart until after noon on the next day because we had to give our reindeer a rest. In spite of this they were so exhausted that the Jakuten /Yakut/ had to walk alongside during the whole trip, and only with difficulty by means of a six-hour journey were we able to drag ourselves to the next station, Katyngnátskije, scarcely 30 versts away. It was certainly not a brilliant conclusion to our long reindeer journey. From here on to Jakutsk /Yakutsk/ we were to be transported by horses, but great difficulties arose as a result of the lack of suitable vehicles, for here for the most part one only travels by riding. After long deliberation the Jakuten /Yakut/ finally agreed to hitch a horse in front of each narte, and thus on December 7 at about 9:00 in the morning we were able to set out
122 again. The horses took us on somewhat faster than the exhausted
731 reindeer, but that did not help us much. Obviously the post arrangements were still in their infancy here, but that was the least of it -- in an emergency help could have been requested from the governor through a messenger, for we were still only about 150 versts from Jakutsk -- the specter of a terrible /241/ smallpox epidemic loomed before us. Dark rumors about it had already reached us -- they still fell short of the reality. Everywhere along our way and in almost all the stations the stricken and dead were said to be lying about, but we nevertheless had to go in, because a journey with the mercury frozen is impossible, in spite of the warmest clothing, without occasionally getting warm.

/248 cont./

439 Trade has fallen off significantly in recent times and the days of glory are chiefly over for Jakutsk /Yakutsk/, since trade between here and Ochotsk /Okhotsk/ has entirely ceased as a result of the flourishing of the southern Russian ports on the Pacific Ocean. Whether the opening of the northeast passage by Nordenskiöld will direct the trade of Jakutsk into new channels /249/ remains largely undecided, but nevertheless much could be done to encourage trade by a regular steamship route on the Lena up to its mouth, which did not exist in our time and has not been established since then, as far as I know. The river itself would present few difficulties, fewer than the Jenissei /Yenisei/, and they could surely be removed entirely with relatively little cost. The excellent fish at the mouth of the Lena, to give only one example, are consumed almost entirely on the spot by the few inhabitants there, a very minimal part goes to Werchojansk and Jakutsk, but no farther, whereas the mouth of the Jenissei supplies a large part of Siberia, and, I believe, also the northeastern part of European Russia with smoked and salted fish of the most varied kinds -- I have even eaten these in St. Petersburg, to which, however, they are probably sent only exceptionally.

136 As I have said before, the most active time for trade
439 is summer, at the beginning of which the barges come down the river with all the necessities required, and especially European goods; soon afterwards the merchants from the north also appear here, chiefly with mammoth tusks and furs. Now, in the winter, great scarcity prevailed and only the absolute necessities were to be obtained. For example, the combined efforts of the governor and the chief of police could not round up a few bottles of porter for us, even in private homes, when they accidently learned that we had a desire for it. A bottle of pale ale was the sole result of their quest. On the other hand, there seemed to be no shortage of champagne, and quite good champagne, to be sure, just as everywhere in Siberia, but at the time it cost eight to ten rubles a bottle.

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• 439 136 Furs were also relatively expensive and difficult to procure. I paid 22 rubles for a truly very beautiful silver fox (ssiwodúschka; the blacker and more expensive ones are called tschórno-búrije lissízi, the wholly black, very rare ones, tschórnije), 15 rubles for one not quite so good, which showed a few reddish parts in the wool hair, whereas the corresponding prices on the summer market were supposed to be about 15 and 9 rubles. For 20 rubles I bought a fine cap sewed together out of black fox paws (for a so-called boyar cap). We were also offered true beaver skins (Castor fiber) from Kolýmsk, which, since they were shown to us frozen, we were inclined to take for calf skins, but we were told that the long red hair would later be removed and that the skin would then have its usual appearance. It is true that beaver is still found in the Kolýmsk district, but many skins that come on the market under the name of Kolýmsk may have been traded by the Tschuktschen /Chukchee/ and come from America.

136 171 I should like to note here that in Europe various skins come on the market under the name of beaver. The most expensive so-called beaver, called kamtschátskij bobjór in Russia, i.e., Kamchatka beaver, is actually not beaver at all, but a sea animal -- the sea otter (Enhydris marina), which is found only in the northern part of the Pacific Ocean and is becoming extinct even there as a result of its completely unregulated capture, at least in former years. The skin, almost black in color, velvet-like, and covered with gray overhair, is one of the most beautiful and highly prized furs, and a good skin is supposed to bring a couple of hundred rubles on the spot. The true beaver (Castor fiber), which formerly was found almost throughout Europe, Asia, and North America, but now /251/ occurs in only a few places in Europe and mostly on preserves there, just as it has also almost died out in Siberia and is still captured, as was said, only in the district of Kolýmsk and, in addition, in North America, has a very poor-looking skin, which in Russia comes on the market under the name of njemétzkij bobjór, i.e., German beaver. In addition there

/260 cont./

122 point of departure of both this and the Tunguska expedition. We hurried so fast that we did not even take the time to make an excursion from the station of Nochtúisk to the nearby so-called residences of the local gold-washings. That is, this is the name given to the central points in which the officials of the gold washings live, where all the supplies are stored, and where possibly even the owners of the mines, if they /261/ /illustration appears here/ deign to visit them, might stop. The greatest luxury prevails here, even according to European conceptions, along with unlimited hospitality. I still recall with pleasure the exceedingly gracious reception given us upon our return from the Tunguska expedition in Jenisseisk /Yeniseisk/ at the home of the wealthy gold-washer v. Basilewsky, where I also had the pleasure of greeting the chief administrator, Mr. R. v. Pfeiffer, a former fellow-student, who was living here with his wife and children in a house furnished with the greatest comfort.

[197] After we had crossed, on December 23 in the station of Sherbinsk /Zherbinsk/, the boundary of the province of Jakutsk, at which the Jakut language also ceases as though chopped off, we entered Bánschtschikowa on the morning of December 28, where we were received like old friends by the entire Dmítrejew family and were able to devote a few days entirely to nursing our very weakened health. Our friendly hosts tirelessly exerted themselves to get us anything that might please us; we even had to go into their supply chamber in order to choose our wine. The most expensive wines of every possible kind lay stored there solely for strangers, for our simple hosts hardly drank them at all and could not even distinguish the kinds; in view of the many connections with the neighboring gold washings, however, strangers with more pampered palates than we poor scorbutic travelers had often turned in here. A short time before even the governor of Irkutsk had called here and with all his rank was received with the appropriate honors.

● 439 122 Besides all their other many business activities, the Dmítrejew brothers also carry on a very considerable fur trade, especially in squirrel skins, since the skins from the /262/ neighboring Oljókminsk district are distinguished among all the

/262 cont./

122 squirrel furs by their very dark, sometimes almost completely black
● 439 coloring and therefore are the most valuable. I would have gladly used this favorable opportunity to buy myself a good fur here first-hand, but I was afraid of the smallpox epidemic, which can surely easily be carried by furs.

122 In Bánschtschikowa we parted from the last two remaining traveling companions of our long journey, Golé and Sseliphón. The former, from Jakutsk on, had been guilty of many things, for he had yielded too much to drinking spirits after long deprivation, and therefore was not honorably discharged, i.e., he received only the stipulated compensation and, as a present, a Jakut carpet which I had entrusted to him and which was completely ruined as a result of his negligence. I presume that after this farewell he did not think of us again as friends until he had received the caftan of honor for this expedition, bestowed upon him at our recommendation. Sseliphón, on the other hand, was speechless with delight. He did not have a clear conscience, by any means, but since he had recently changed greatly for the better, in particular from Werchojansk on, where we had had him locked up for two days by the isprawnik /ispravnik/, we felt it was possible to make him a present of various household articles that had now become dispensable, among other things, a brass teakettle which he had guarded with particular fondness throughout the trip. It is quite possible, as Czekanowsky thought, that he set up a household on the Tunguska immediately after his return with the treasures that we gave him; in any case he would have made a great impression on his female compatriots, for in Jakutsk he /263/ bought himself various toilet articles undoubtedly still unknown along the Tunguska, for example, rose pomade, which he used lavishly.

After we had spent the evening of December 30 with our friends in Bánschtschikowa, we continued our journey and reached Irkutsk without incident on the morning of January 5, 1875, most warmly greeted by our friends.

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2



skillfully made; the wooden crockery was usually decorated with carving, while the birchbark objects were decorated with horsehair designs. 322

Fur-dressing and tanning were very common. The materials were made into a great variety of different things—clothing, footwear, and headgear; carpets, underlays (usually made of horse- or cow-hide, often sewn together from pieces into a checkered mosaic), blankets (from horseskin); the leather vessels were made in a variety of sizes, ranging from the enormous simiir' for kumys down to the tiny pail or tursuk; various parts of saddles, straps, nooses and so on. The actual working of the leather and fur was very primitive—the hide was smoked (in ancient times and even in the 17th century this was done in earth stoves), crumpled, smeared with oil or cream, and there was no true tanning. The manufacture of reindeer suede was evidently learnt from the Evenks and the Evens. The Yakuts themselves did not make any cloth, either from animal wool or vegetable fiber—and only used what was imported. They did not know about spinning, nor how to roll felt. On the other hand, horsehair was widely employed; it was used for the ornamentation of birchbark and other objects, particularly for braiding different kinds of lassoes, cord, laces and nets, loops, fans to keep flies away, stuffing pillows for saddles and so on. The Yakuts also wove horsehair for decorative purposes. The individual hairs were twisted into a thread by hand on a bare knee, without using a spindle. 281 286 283 439 531

Blacksmithery was the only trade among the Yakuts which had long acquired commercial importance, although normally it was not a separate trade from agriculture. In the 17th century the Russians found it to be highly developed among the Yakuts. The iron was obtained from marsh ore, of which there was a great deal, particularly on the Vilyuy. The ore was mined along the rivers Botoma, Amga, Sola and others. It was first smelted in primitive blast furnaces. But at the beginning of the 20th century the Yakut smiths were already working with imported iron. They forged it into a variety of implements and utensils, weapons and so on. Apart from iron, the Yakut smiths worked low-grade silver, which in the 19th and 20th centuries was partly obtainable by melting down Russian coins. This silver was made into various ornaments, linings for belts, whips, horse harnessing. The equipment used in the smithies was fairly unsophisticated—furnaces worked with bellows (portable), anvils, hammer and tongs. 326 [316]

The fact that they engaged in ceramics singles out the Yakuts from the people around them. They evidently retained pottery as a relic of the Neolithic stage. Nevertheless, it was very primitive. To the dark, viscous clay they used to add powder ground from old fired pots and then mold the clay mixture diluted with water into the walls of the pot with their hands (without a wheel), using a stone to smooth them out (on the inside) and a trowel (on the outside). The pots were fired in the hearth. The pottery varied in size and the shapes and designs were crude. In the last few decades, Yakut ceramics have been replaced by Russian ones. 323

Mammoth-ivory carving (Yakutiya is rich in mammoth skeletons), which was probably not begun before the 19th century, was not a common trade, although it was an interesting one. The ivory was carved into a variety of trinkets and small boxes. 321

These were the main types of production among the Yakuts prior to the Revolution. As a whole, the Yakut economy remained at a fairly low level of development, and by and large remained a subsistence economy. Nevertheless, the sale of homemade products acquired ever-greater importance towards the end of the 19th century. This was mainly the case 433 443

233 their clothing, and sometimes even help to look after the reindeer.
464 Such a woman--the assistant of the herdsmen, receives as payment
465 for the winter's work one grown reindeer plus her food and clothing.
The herdsmen likewise receive food, winter clothing, hide for the soles of their footgear, and four or five reindeer as their pay.

233 Notwithstanding the fact that the reindeer as a riding animal plays
438 the most important role in the life of the Dolgan and is closely con-
492 nected with the activity of hunting, nevertheless the carrier's trade as a source of revenue has no significance in the economy of the Dolgan. Reindeer are usually employed for transporting the goods of mercantile organizations from Dudinka to Anabar. A 320-kilogram load is placed on one cargo sled. The pay for transporting one pood (sixteen kilograms) as far as Khatanga (one thousand kilometers) is equal to seven rubles, or 140 rubles for one sled. The trip to Khatanga with a cargo sled takes two and one-half months at a minimum. During this time the carrier loses reindeer 1) from starvation (in winter the usual picture along the main route is the skinned corpses of fallen reindeer), and 2) from wolves. When we were passing through the territory one of our contractors was obliged to leave his load on the road, without carrying it to Volosyanka, and he himself was only able to reach his home on someone else's reindeer, on account of the fact that all of his own reindeer had been scattered by the wolves. And this is by no means a rare case. In general, on the road there is very great danger of losing one's reindeer, not only to the wolves, but also in blizzards, during raids made by wild reindeer, and so forth. On the other hand, the transportation of loads for pay has an unhealthy effect on the economy of the Dolgan, for it draws the polar-fox hunters away from their basic occupation. Insufficient supervision on the part of the regional authorities has compelled the population, to their detriment, to undertake the transportation of loads, notwithstanding the very convenient combination of waterways and the possibility of transporting goods along these routes. (1)

114 1. These questions [of reindeer transportation of goods--Analyst] were touched on at one time by us in print: Sovetskaia etnografiia, 1931, No. III-IV, in the article "Poezdka k dolganam" [A Trip to the Dolgan].

178 As long as the transportation problem remains unsolved the native
439 carriers with their reindeer will do great harm to the population; on

178 the other hand, [201] the possibilities for maximizing profits from
439 the sale in foreign markets of such valuable furs as polar fox are not fully utilized, since on account of their trips transporting loads the carters are compelled to cut down on the number of times they can make the rounds of their traps.

233 In places where there are many fish and wild reindeer--for ex-
282 ample, in Pyasina--domestic reindeer are hardly ever used as food. On the other hand, in places where there is little game, the average family is forced to use a minimum of about forty head and more in the course of a year, especially in the east, where the population hardly uses any grain at all, substituting meat in its place. All parts of the reindeer are used for food, not excluding even the con-
233 tents of the stomach. Reindeer milk is also used as food. [Fig. 18].
234 They milk reindeer from June until Shroud-Day, the holiday called
262 "Pokrov" [Feast of the Protection of the Holy Virgin] (November 14), but there are also some cows without calves which are milked the year round. The milking is done once a day. In the summer they usually milk the reindeer before tea, so as to have milk to pour into their tea, and when they do this they milk with the right hand alone, and with the left hand they hold a mug or an iron bucket under the stream of milk. In winter they freeze the milk and eat it in this solid
233 form, chopped into small pieces. A cow usually gives a half-bucket
291 of thick, tasty milk. For eating purposes they kill only old and sick reindeer; for clothing they kill almost exclusively young reindeer. If a domestic reindeer is used for food during a scarcity of fish and wild game, its hide is much more often used for clothing, at least among the well-to-do, whereas the hide of a wild reindeer, owing to its coarseness, is used only by poor people. We propose to give more detailed information regarding the number of hides which are used by a family in one year for their various needs in a separate work on the clothing of the Dolgan.

321 From reindeer horns are fashioned various small household articles.

In concluding the ethnographic part of my work on reindeer breed-
121 ing among the Dolgan, I make the reservation that consideration of the Dolgan ideology was consciously left out by me; in order to see to what degree the whole religion of the Dolgan is permeated with elements of reindeer breeding, it would be necessary to describe the religion in a very detailed fashion, which is outside the scope of the present sketch. It is much more expedient to give a description of the religion separately in an independent work.

Tungus RU5
Yakut RV2

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been visiting for a long time, here on the Malmalty River (6).

6. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., p. 167.

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In fact, according to information collected by Ussolzef among the Birar (for him, "Manägern"), the Russian Tungus -- whom, moreover, he calls "Orotschonen." /Orochon/ throughout -- wander as nomads along the Bureja with their reindeer to the village of Schewaki, about a fourteen-days' trip from the mouth of this river. They cannot go farther downstream with their reindeer, because they can find no fodder there for their animals, but still some of them come down to the mouth of the Bureja in bark canoes (7). In the train of the Tungus, or inviting them

T 439 563
Y 439 443
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7. Shvarts", Podrobn. otch. o rezul't izslied. Matemat. Otd. Sibirsk. Eksp. Geogr. Obshch., Ch. I, p. 51.

along /38/ enterprising Yakut traders also travel over the Stanovoi Mountains and sometimes settle down for a longer period of time in the Chinese territory along the Bureja /Bureya/ or Dseja /Zeya/ and their tributaries. Middendorff estimated that in his time there were about 25 traders from Yakutsk on the move, sometimes on this side, sometimes on that side of the Dseja and Bureja Range (1).

1. Op. cit., p. 168.

One Yakut lived permanently at the above-mentioned gathering place of the Birar, Manegir, and Russian Tungus on the Inkanj; others came from time to time with various wares and necessities from Yakutsk as well as from the Udskoi ostrog. Some of them likewise settled side by side and with the Tungus along the Kebeli and Niman; indeed, at the former place a Yakut had already been in residence for six years. Middendorff's Yakut guide (Wantscha) had himself visited the Jorach, a tributary of the Bureja, 18 years earlier. Another Yakut (Trofim), with

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2: Schrenck--165 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Tungus RU5
Yakut RV2

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S.S. /81 cont./ Yakut
175 traders often appeared in their wake. Why, then, in spite of
648 all the border restrictions, should Russian fur-hunters, Cossacks,
127 and the like not advance over the same route? Müller, in fact,
224 reported that in 1737 the surveyors Skobelzyn and Schetilof
[439] repeatedly came across the hunting huts of Russian fur-hunters
Y
[439] from Nerchinsk along the Gilui and its tributaries (2). Else-

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2. In Büsching's Magaz., op. cit., p. 491. Cf. also Middendorff, op. cit., pp. 168, 169.

where (3), and perhaps only generalizing from those reports, he

S.S.
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3. Sammlung Russ. Gesch. Vol. III, 1758, p. 509.

mentions the "forbidden sable hunts that take place from
SS. Nerchinsk to the Seja /Seya/ River." To the many proofs offered
175 by Middendorff (4) that Yakut as traders frequently followed the
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4. Op. cit., pp. 165 ff. Also see above, p. 79.

Russian Tungus into the Dseja and Bureja area and even took up more permanent residence there among them, we can add, according to L. Schwarz (5), that Russian traders, Cossacks from

S.S.
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5. Podrobnyi otchet" o rezul'tatakh" izslied. Matematich. Otd. Sibirsk. Eksped. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. /Detailed Account of the Results of the Research of the Mathematical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society/, 1864, Ch. III, pp. 69, 76.

2: Schrenck--986 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Southeast Siberia RX1
Tungus RU5
Yakut RV2

/628 cont./

Oldoi, at which Russian Cossacks and traders congregate every year in December in order to buy furs from the Orochon (2).

2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 316.

Only the Orochon living along the Amur and to the north of it, however, have such trade relations with the Russians. Those in the Great Chingan Mountains, the eastern slopes of which face the Nonni, sell their furs to the Chinese and Daur there, the latter often accompanying them on their hunting expeditions in order to take immediate possession of the ultimate yield.

Enterprising Russian fur traders or hunters visit the Manegir and Birar living farther from them much less and more rarely (3).

3. Concerning such visits, see p. 164 above.

Instead, a different element comes to them from the north, from the Lena area and also from the Udj, the Yakut -- skilled, experienced through their association with the Tungus, and shrewd traders, who sometimes settle among them in one place or sometimes roam after them and by means of their wares acquire the furs captured by them. Many such proceedings discovered by Middendorff in the Dseja as well /629/ as in the Bureja areas have already been reported above (1). Well acquainted with the needs

1. See p. 81 above; also Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc. (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 36).

and with the weaknesses of the hunting nomads, they know how to supply them with whatever they require or covet, but at the same time how to exploit them, and not infrequently, with occasional advance payments, to make them into their permanent debtors who constantly feel obligated to pay (2). Among other

2. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 133.

/629 cont./

T Y SS 439 Russo-Siberian wares, the Manegir and Birar also get from them the highly prized small-caliber rifles which have also found their way to the Samagir in the lower Amur region, even though only in small numbers, and with which the long and heavy Chinese matchlock guns cannot compete.

T 439 While, thanks to the Yakut, some of the furs captured by the Manegir and Birar in the Dseja and Bureja areas flow to the north, into the Lena area, their principal trade naturally remains turned toward the south, toward the Amur River, to which a large part of them go in summer simply to fish, and where they find in the villages of the Manchu, Chinese, and Daur carrying on the cultivation of field crops, vegetables, and tobacco, and especially in the city of Aigun, the opportunity to acquire by trade all their needed clothing, food, and luxury items more or less firsthand and at far cheaper prices than from the merchants who visit them at their habitation sites. On the other hand, there

T 439 648 can be no doubt but that the Manchu-Chinese government is anxious to collect from those appearing in Aigun for trade a tribute in furs similar to what is done in Ssan-ssin with regard to the natives of the lower Amur region and formerly also was done in Deren. And the same takes place in Tsitsikar with regard to the "Butchani," i.e., the Solon, Daur, Orochon, and other natives of the region who must pay tribute. According to

T 439 543 648 Palladij's report, the "tschulchanj," or great annual fair, is held there annually in June-July, for which many people from the tribes mentioned congregate and camp in tents around the city, but only after all the tribute owed has been paid in sable furs and in exchange some gifts in the form of cereals, money, and other articles have been received is the fair opened and the trading in furs, livestock, and the like begun, in which the Chinese merchants play the chief role (3).

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3. Arkhimandrit" Palladii, "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch. cherez" Man'chzhuriiu /Travel Notes on the Way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of